

# American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.

—James Monroe

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## Parties Make Plans For 1940 Election

Question of Third Term Still Unsettled as Democrats and Republicans Weigh Prospects

### MANY CANDIDATES OFFERED

But No Predictions Can Be Safely Made Because of Constantly Shifting Conditions

Will President Roosevelt be a candidate for a third term? If so, what are the chances of his election? If not, who are the most probable candidates of the Democratic party? What Republicans have the best chances of nomination at present? And, if nominated, is there a probability of their election? We must wait for more than a year for a certain answer to these questions, but they are already claiming widespread attention and there is much speculation concerning them. It is natural that this should be true, for the nominating conventions will meet in a little over a year and there will be increasing interest in politics during all that time.

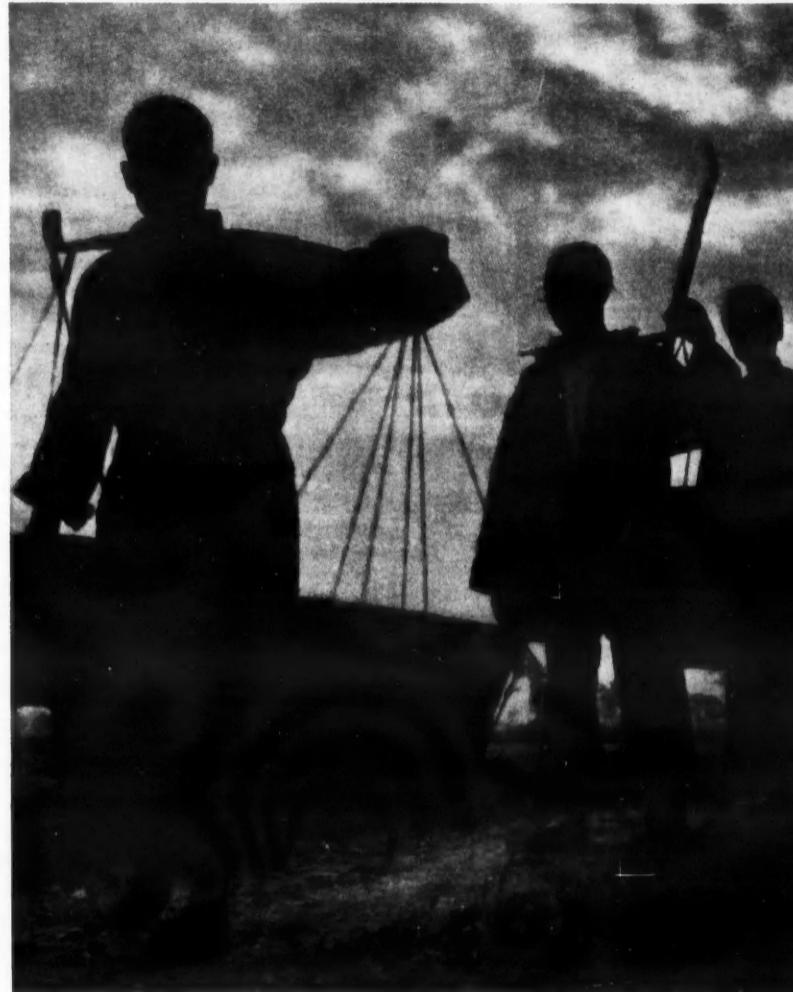
#### The Third-Term Question

Will Roosevelt run again? The general impression, both in Washington and elsewhere, is that he will not, though few people appear to be very certain of the answer and his intentions remain a big question mark. There are indications that a majority of the voters, if obliged to make up their minds at this time, would decide against a third term. In December and again in February the Institute of Public Opinion conducted a poll on the question. In December only 30 per cent of the people who were interviewed said they favored a third term for the President. In February the number had grown slightly but was still only 31 per cent. In December, at the very time that the Institute of Public Opinion poll showed 30 per cent of the people favoring Roosevelt for a third term, a poll was conducted by THE AMERICAN OBSERVER and the *Weekly News Review*. More than 100,000 students answered the question and 29.6 per cent of them said they favored Roosevelt as the next president. This was almost exactly the same as the Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup) poll. At the same time 55 per cent of the students who were polled by THE AMERICAN OBSERVER and the *Weekly News Review* said that they would not oppose a president running for the third term if they favored him on other grounds.

The Institute of Public Opinion poll, which indicated that less than a third of the people favored a third term for the President, is not to be taken as proof, however, that the President is unpopular. At about the same time that the third-term question was asked there was another poll, in which the voters were asked whether or not they supported the President, and 58 per cent declared themselves for him—but not necessarily for another term.

While most political observers think that the President would not be a candidate for a third term if the convention were held today, many of them suggest that conditions within a year may change. It is commonly believed that if the country were in war by that time or if Europe were at war and the international situation were

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WASA PHOTO  
PEASANTS IN THE INTERIOR OF CHINA

## Testing Your Emotions

"How healthy are your emotions?" That question is asked by Dr. Donald A. Laird in *Your Health*, a magazine which contains many excellent suggestions concerning the preservation of health, both physical and mental. Dr. Laird presents a chart, or set of questions, which each one may answer and in this way determine the state of his nerves and the soundness of his emotions. There are 34 questions in his list, and the reader is invited to answer them for himself. The average person, says Dr. Laird, answers seven of the questions with a "yes." If he must truthfully answer more than 12 of the questions in the affirmative, his nerves must be on edge and his emotions are in a turmoil. If he honestly answers "yes" to less than three of them, it indicates, says the author, that he is "sound as a nut—or a whale of a liar." Here are the questions:

- Do you get blamed for things you do not do?
- Do you worry about getting down with some illness?
- Do you think that your parents picked on you?
- Do you feel tired most of the time?
- Do you think people are often watching you?
- Is it sometimes difficult for you to breathe?
- Do you get the impression that people keep away from you?
- Do you think your friends are turning against you?
- Is it hard for you to forget a dirty deal given you?
- Do you often think people are following you at night?
- When you are in trouble, do you cry?
- Were you happier when you were a baby?
- Do you believe most anything people tell you?
- Are you afraid that unpleasant things will happen to you?
- Do you like to make other people cry?
- Do you like to make believe you are someone else?
- Do you say one thing and do another?
- Do you often cry without knowing why?
- Do you often feel downhearted without knowing why?
- Do you often giggle and feel high-spirited without knowing why?
- Do many things get on your nerves?
- Do ideas running through your head often keep you from going to sleep?
- Do you feel that you haven't a friend?
- Do you often talk to yourself?
- Are you frightened at thunder?
- Is it hard for you to forget your troubles?
- Does noise annoy you?
- Do you fall and stumble over things?
- Do you always try to do just the right thing?
- Do you get so mad you can't talk?
- Are you afraid of bodies of water?
- Do you get angry about nothing at all?
- Are you afraid in a room when the door is shut?
- Do you think people make fun of you?

## Two Governments of China Are Compared

Split Two Ways Between Chinese and Japanese Forces, China Is Badly Disorganized

### HUGE WESTWARD EXODUS

Millions Flee Japanese-Controlled Areas to Resume Lives Anew in Interior of Country

Although the world seems occasionally inclined to forget it (in the face of what has been happening in Europe), the war in China still goes on—a fact recently emphasized by the fall of the important Chinese city of Nanchang to Japanese troops, and by reports of renewed military activity in the northwest provinces. Over thousands of miles of China's scarred surface, Chinese and Japanese are still locked in bitter struggle.

From the point of view of the Chinese people, the political situation is far from happy. To them it is as it would be to us if a powerful enemy had invaded the United States from the northeast, had all but destroyed New York and Philadelphia, sacked Washington, and occupied and ruled the populous northeastern industrial area bounded, perhaps, by a line from Chicago to Louisville, and then east to Norfolk. In addition, the enemy would have occupied our ports, New Orleans, Savannah, and Charleston, and gained control of so many of our rivers and railroads that we were isolated from the outside world.

#### Two Governments

Thus there are two governments in China today. The area mentioned above, which includes 24 provinces of northeastern and northern China and Manchuria and some coastal areas, is ruled by the Japanese army acting through six Chinese puppet governments, grouped together in a loose and feeble federation. The remainder of China, consisting of 17 provinces and parts of provinces, is still subject to the government of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek from his remote capital at Chungking, 1,400 miles up the Yangtze River. Functioning side by side as they do, the existence of these two governments makes it possible for us to examine and compare internal conditions in the two political regions of China—one ruled by the invaders, and the other by the Chinese defenders.

More is known about conditions in the Japanese-controlled areas than about those in the remote hinterland, both because the former are in closer touch with the outside world, and because they have been the scene of developments strongly affecting foreign interests. Most important of all, to foreigners, of course, is the fact that the "open door" to a free flow of international trade in Chinese markets has been slammed shut and bolted by the Japanese invaders in every square mile of territory they have been able to conquer. Huge monopolies have been set up to take over the trade of western powers. By reason of a vaguely defined "military necessity," foreign traders have found closed to them the Chinese rivers, railroads, and even long-distance telephone wires. The rigid exclusion policies of the Japanese, bolstered by stringent currency regulations and unusually high taxes, has resulted in a \$400,000,000 annual trade loss to the western powers, over half of which has been lost

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## Facts About Magazines

### XVII. The Saturday Review of Literature

FOR the last 15 years, *The Saturday Review of Literature* has occupied a distinct place in American periodical literature. A weekly magazine devoted exclusively to books and strictly literary subjects, it meets a great need by keeping its readers constantly abreast of the latest developments in the literary world.

*The Saturday Review of Literature* first appeared August 2, 1924. It was the outgrowth of the literary or book-reviewing section of the old New York *Evening Post*, first published as *Book Review* and later as *The Literary Review*. From the beginning it was directed by some of America's leading literary lights. With the exception of its present editor, George Stevens, who assumed his present position in 1933, *The Saturday Review* has had the same board of editors since its organization. They include Henry Seidel Canby, Amy Loveman, Christopher Morley, and William Rose Benet.

Today, as in 1924, *The Saturday Review* receives contributions from outstanding figures in the literary world. Not only do its own editors contribute regularly reviews on the latest books and articles of literary interest, but each book reviewed is handled by an authority in the particular branch covered by the book. Each issue contains around two dozen reviews of



GEORGE STEVENS

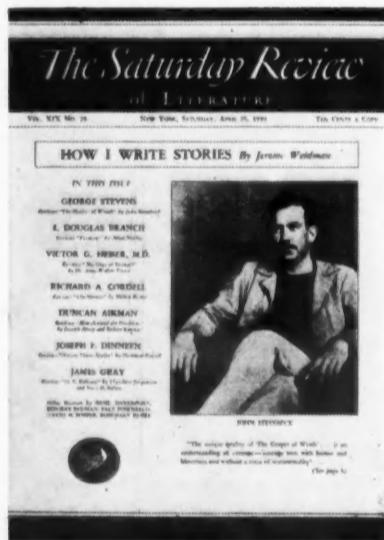
Still others may be essays discussing some aspect of a writer's method of work. The leading article in a late issue, for example, is by Jerome Weidman and is called "How I Write Stories."

It should not be assumed that *The Saturday Review of Literature* is confined to strictly "literary" subjects; that is, to fiction and to literary criticism. Each issue contains reviews of a number of newly published books dealing with current public problems. Books on history, international relations, economics, philosophy, politics, are all discussed critically by experts as soon as they appear from the presses. By reading regularly this magazine, one may truly become informed on the best books that appear in this country.

Just as there have been few changes in the editorial direction of *The Saturday Review* since it was first launched, so have there been few changes in editorial policy. What this policy is has been clearly stated by William Rose Benet, who outlined the objectives as follows:

"Above all, *The Saturday Review of Literature* has always stood and will continue to stand for two main principles. (1) The reviewing of books by the most expert and authoritative opinion possible, without fear, favor, or influence. (2) The judicious encouragement of new writers and all outstanding talent that comes to its attention. On the other hand, its recognition of the necessity for experimentation in literature will not be colored by the propaganda of new cliques or schools. As detached a viewpoint as is humanly possible will be maintained both toward the work of established reputation and the work of reputation still in the making. Slogans put down on paper too often have an uncomfortably bravura look, but I know that the editors like to keep quietly in mind a hope we once formulated—to try to make our *Review* 'not just comment on literature, but literature itself.'

Even a cursory examination of a single issue of *The Saturday Review* will convince the reader that the magazine has been able to realize this objective, for its comments upon books, its editorials on literary subjects, its leading articles, its regular departments make it a sounding board for the more significant trends and developments in the literary world.



(Reproduced by courtesy of "The Saturday Review of Literature.")

varying length on the new books which have come out during the week.

Another feature of *The Saturday Review* not found in the regular book-review sections of the newspapers are regular articles on literary subjects. The range of these subjects is wide. Some of them are articles of literary criticism which discuss trends and developments in the literary world at home and abroad. Others may be biographical sketches of outstanding authors.

### The American Observer

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THE AMERICAN OBSERVER



WILLIAM LYON PHELPS AT HIS DESK



IN THE LIBRARY OF HIS HOME AT SEVEN GABLES  
(Two illustrations from "Autobiography with Letters.")

## William L. Phelps' Autobiography Is Warm Account of Notable Life

FEW men in recent years have had a greater influence in bringing literature to millions of Americans than William Lyon Phelps whose "Autobiography With Letters" (New York: Oxford University Press, \$3.75) is one of the outstanding literary contributions of the current season. Mr. Phelps' life has been so rich and eventful that it cannot but serve as an inspiration to all who read his warm and candid autobiography.

William Lyon Phelps was born in New Haven, Connecticut, the son of a Baptist pastor, 73 years ago. Early in life, he was initiated into the literary life, for his father had a large and well-chosen private library. His father was editor of a weekly journal and received books on all subjects. This proved to be a great blessing to Mr. Phelps, for the "house was filled with the latest novels, essays, poems, histories, biographies, and books of travel. What this meant to me it is not necessary to emphasize. I had always read everything I could lay my hands on; and now, for the next 15 years, from the age of 11 to 26, I had God's plenty."

When he was 14, he was asked by his father to review a new book for the paper. "This was the first book I ever reviewed in print; the first of many thousands, for

I never stopped from that day to this." He entered Yale University as law student, but left with a doctor of philosophy degree in literature and started teaching English at Yale. From the beginning of his professorship, he became almost a legend because of the genuine interest created in his courses. There was nothing stuffy about his courses; he talked literature in the language which his students could understand and appreciate.

But Professor Phelps' influence was not confined to the courses he gave at Yale. He wrote book reviews for the leading magazines and newspapers. He made lecture tours which brought literature to thousands. In recent years, he has been a frequent speaker on the radio. Since 1895, it is estimated that he has given a total of 10,000 lectures to a collective audience of 5,000,000 persons.

The enthusiasm which has characterized his entire life is radiated from practically every page of his autobiography. "Daily existence has often been thrilling," he writes. His joy of living has not come from adventures in far-off lands, but in an appreciation of the most worthwhile things in the common existence. "Hot jungles and trackless snows may be beautiful, but to me they are not so beautiful as the Grand Central Station illuminated, or the North River by night, or Fifth Avenue by day, or Fleet Street before sunset. I am a man of the city, and I like theatres, music, newspapers, and cultivated men and women."

It is undoubtedly this diversity of interest, this ability to enjoy "the hot bath in the tub as I used to enjoy the old swimming hole;" to be "transported by the symphonies of Beethoven and by the operas of Wagner," and at the same time to enjoy Gilbert and Sullivan; to find Shakespeare more "thrilling and enchanting" with the passing of time, and still to be able to "relish a good detective story; to make every day a Saturday, which, as every young person knows, is 'the golden day of the week.'"

But Mr. Phelps' story is more than an account of his life and his reminiscences; it is in a sense a panorama of the literary life of the last half century. Few men living have been privileged to know intimately a larger number of the great literary figures who have come and gone. His book is filled with stories of these men whom he can truly call his friends, and with excerpts from many of their letters to him.

This is a long book, running to nearly a thousand pages. But it is never dull and it is delightfully informal throughout. Professor Phelps may interrupt his chronicle of events in his life to include an essay on cats, or to make an astute observation on literary criticism. Whether one is inclined toward an appreciation of literature or not, he cannot fail to be deeply interested by the story of the life of William Lyon Phelps.

## With the Magazines

"The Ghost of Versailles," by Aurel Kolnai. *The Nation*, April 15, 1939, pp. 427-430.

To those who believe that the present world crisis began in the evils of the Versailles Treaty, this writer issues a warning that brooding over the bad beginnings and pacts already made will not help the present world situation. He believes that such things as our national, economic, and spiritual existence are worth fighting for, and that the worst thing that could happen to the world is a second Munich Pact.

"The Confused Liberal," by Struthers Burt. *Forum*, April 1939, pp. 179-185.

The liberal is no worse off today or in any more danger than he has been throughout the ages, says Mr. Burt. He urges all men who believe government to be made for man and not man made for government to throw off their weak and submissive attitudes. Mr. Burt is optimistic. He believes that in the long-range view world democracy will win because it is sane and because, as he says, "You can kill a man but you cannot kill an idea."

"Hell's Canyon, The Biggest of All," by Richard L. Neuberger. *Harpers*, April 1939, pp. 527-535.

Exploration days in America, says this writer, are not yet over. To prove his point, he describes a wild and comparatively unpenetrated country around "Hell's Canyon." This granite gash made by the Snake River

between the states of Oregon and Idaho in the Pacific Northwest is deeper even than the Grand Canyon. The story of its discovery,



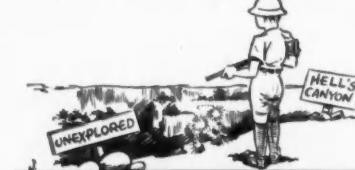
its terrifying dangers, and its possibilities makes interesting reading.

"I Wonder Where We Can Go Now." *Fortune*, April 1939, pp. 91-100.

In this article the editors of *Fortune* concern themselves with a stream of migratory laborers who wander over the country looking for work and who form one of the most serious problems of the nation. Focusing their attention especially on the situation in California, they found thousands of these people living in tents, unemployed most of the year, underfed and unhealthy. The investigators suggest that immediate attention should be given to improve the lot of these migratory families.

"The Big Morgue," by Harold J. Ruttenburg. *Survey Graphic*, April 1939, pp. 266-269.

Superhuman machines, writes Mr. Ruttenburg, are steadily and swiftly displacing industrial workers all over the United States. He points out that the invention of new machinery solves engineering problems but creates human problems. Using the steel industry as an example, he shows that thousands of men are thrown out of work and left without any place to turn when improved machinery is installed. These men, he believes, form one of the gravest problems of the machine age and they should be taken care of by the combined efforts of industry, labor, and government until they can be absorbed in other jobs.



## Many Changes In China Are Noted As Conflict With Japan Continues

(Continued from page 1)

by the United States. (This figure does not include the losses on property and investments, a figure which it is not yet possible to calculate.)

### Effects upon People

All this has produced a great uproar in Europe and North America, of course, but it is not with Japan's treatment of foreign trade in China that we are primarily concerned here. How do the Chinese people live in the occupied and unoccupied areas behind the battle lines today? In order to live, they must eat—which means that the soil must be tilled, crops sown and harvested, and markets kept open. The need for shelter and clothing means that the wheels of industry must turn, however slowly, and that transport must move, however irregularly. As long as China's 422,000,000 people live, they must consume goods; and as long as they do that, some sort of economic system must function to produce goods.

Since Shanghai is so much a commercial and financial nerve center that it might well be called the New York of China, it would be natural to look at that city first. As countless ships arrive and depart, as the quays, railroad yards, and stations are jammed with traffic these days, this city is the scene of tremendous activity. Although most of the big factories destroyed in the fighting during the autumn of 1937 have never been rebuilt, a large number of small industries have replaced them. Industrial employment (which was only at 27,000 during the Shanghai fighting) has soared to 237,000, a figure which is even higher than that of the peaceful period preceding the Japanese invasion.

When subjected to closer scrutiny, the matter of labor and wages loses some of

is safe as much as two miles beyond the city limits. Street lights grow steadily fewer. A mushroom growth of gambling dens and opium houses, tolerated by (if not actually protected by) the Japanese authorities, has increased the problem.

Japanese blame the crime wave (which has resulted in the shooting of nearly 40 Chinese officials who have been the puppets of Japanese, or who have cooperated with them) on the officials of the two foreign areas in Shanghai, the International Settlement and the French Concession. The foreigners and the Chinese blame the Japanese. Within one week the International Settlement police recently arrested 144 armed criminals, but this did not reduce the crime wave in the slightest degree. And along with this serious disintegration of public morals and order, the city is becoming so dirty, as garbage and refuse have piled up in unwashed and uncleansed streets, that the very air is foul to breathe.

But Shanghai, being only one large city, like New York, is not typical of the hinterland beyond its limits. What of that great portion of the interior now ruled by the Japanese, through their Chinese puppets?

### The Interior

Conditions here are somewhat different, but hardly any better. Much of the land, it will be remembered, was subjected to the terrible "scorched earth" policy of the retreating Chinese armies which preferred to destroy everything that could possibly be of use to the Japanese rather than to leave it behind. Chinese peasants returning to the devastated areas, therefore, found their few farm buildings nothing but charred embers. Crops had been destroyed and the fields gone to seed. Even fruit trees and seed had vanished. Farm animals were gone, and farm implements either broken or missing. In thousands of cases there was nothing but the land itself. In thousands more—where river dikes were not in repair, even that was gone—under water, or buried in silt from former floods.

The Chinese peasants arose heroically to this occasion. In the spring of 1938, they started in again and, by dint of incessant toil, turned the devastation back into farming lands, and produced a crop. The 1938 rice crop was small, due to the killing off of the



**TWO FACES**  
The philosophical countenance of the elderly Chinese is symbolic of China's ancient heritage. The young man is typical of the youthful, ardent Chinese student and intellectual of today.

its flavor. Officially wages have not gone down, but the Japanese have so forced down the value of money, and raised prices so high that the purchasing power of the workers' wages has declined 30 per cent. The highest wages earned in Shanghai, in the machinery and shipbuilding plants, average only 1.6 American cents an hour. In the woolen and silk mills the average is nearer one-half cent an hour.

### A Sorry Plight

How can people—even in China—live on such wages? There is no definite answer. Some seem to manage. Some work for a while until weakness from undernourishment makes them easy prey to the diseases now rapidly spreading, and then they go off somewhere and quietly die. Others will replace them, for unemployment is high and labor cheap. Still others, unable to support themselves or their families, turn in increasing numbers to lawlessness. The most respectable of these are smugglers. Others join in bands, prowl the dark streets at night, preying upon the people.

As a result, Shanghai has sunk from the status of a queen city in the Orient to deplorable depths. The spread of crime, murder, burglaries, and violence has been amazing in its scope. Few dare to venture forth at night, and few are safe even in their homes. Authorities admit that even in daylight no pedestrian or motorist



water buffalo, but still there was a crop, and the peasants, some of them at least, could eat. But so many restrictions and petty regional taxes were erected, under Japanese supervision, that the crops could not be moved. Hallett Abend, correspondent of the *New York Times*, has told of three bushels of wheat which, when they were moved 25 miles from the countryside into Nanking, were taxed eight times to 20 per cent of their value. In addition, when the peasant reached the city gates, the Japanese sentry demanded a portion before he would allow it to be carried in to market.

### Short-sighted Policy

The whole effect of this shortsighted policy will not be felt until this year's crop is harvested. For in their greed to exact tax money, the Japanese and their Chinese helpers have simply discouraged the peasants from raising any more food than they need for their families. The cities will get little or no food this year as a result.

And in the interior cities of the Japanese area, conditions are already bad enough. Nanking furnishes a typical example. Where there were 12,000 shops before the war, there are today only 2,500, and most of these consist of little more than a stall with a scrap of dirty canvas overhead. The population has been cut in half. Shattered buildings remain unrepaired. According to one foreign mission, 44 per cent of the inhabitants are destitute and cannot survive unless given outside aid. Thousands are carried off by disease and starvation. The picture seen here is the same as is seen throughout the Japanese areas of China today. Starva-



**CAN JAPAN CONQUER CHINA?**  
The Japanese have won a large piece of territory, but a great deal of China remains. The picture above is of Chungking, China's new capital in the interior. Chungking is an ancient city built on the hilly banks of the Yangtze. Water carriers toil from morning to night carrying water up the huge stone staircases which lead to the water's edge.

tion, ruthless suppression by the Japanese army, and the spiritual degradation of the Chinese people is the rule.

What of those who have not returned to their city homes or to their farms? There are millions of such who have fled or are fleeing the Japanese rule. This great exodus began in the autumn of 1937, and it has never stopped. The roads have been jammed with people all moving slowly south and west, carrying with them a few belongings and a vague hope that somewhere they may begin their lives anew. The most conservative estimates of the number of refugees have been near 30,000,000, which makes it one of the greatest mass movements in history, if not actually the greatest. As these weary lines move

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## Important Questions Dealing With Your Community

It is of interest and value for students to learn as much as they can about their communities. The following questions, which are reprinted from a pamphlet, "Know Your Town," published by the National League of Women Voters, Washington, may well be used as a study project for classrooms and student clubs:

1. When did the first settlers come to



**DETROIT BOARD OF EDUCATION**  
**STUDY IN PLANNING**  
These Detroit high school students are working on the model of a town planning project.

your community and lay its foundations?

2. Why did they stay?

3. Did they give permanent character to the community?

4. What was the population in 1910? In 1920? In 1930?

5. Has the growth of the population been gradual or rapid? How do you account for such growth? Has there been any

indication that the population trend has been changing in recent years; for example, has there been a movement from the city proper into the suburbs or from the cities and open country into the villages?

6. What percentage of the population is foreign born?

7. How many Negroes are there?

8. What brought the immigrants to your community?

9. What nationalities are represented and in what proportions? What proportion of the population does

not speak English with any degree of fluency?

10. Do your foreign-born residents live in compact groups or are they scattered throughout the town?

11. What have the foreign-born contributed to life in your town?

12. In what court or courts are aliens naturalized? How many unnaturalized aliens are there?

13. In what types of work are the gainfully employed in your community engaged?

14. What are the important industries in your town? Do they require skilled or unskilled labor for the most part?

15. Are the industries on which your community depends located within the corporate limits of your town? If not, what effect does this have on problems of governmental control and public finance?

16. What changes have taken place in the character of the economic life of your community as a result of the depression of the early thirties?

17. Have old industries moved? Have new ones come?

18. What effect have such dislocations had upon the supply and demand for labor and services in your town?



COURTESY NATIONAL FOLK FESTIVAL

Colorado high school students, as they rehearsed an ancient Mexican dance, preparatory to coming to Washington for the National Folk Festival last year. The Folk Festival, designed to preserve old songs and dances, has become an annual affair.

## DOMESTIC

### The President's Plea

An anxious world, jittery from repeated rumors of war, was startled by the sudden, unexpected appeal which President Roosevelt made to Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini on April 15, asking them to "give assurances that your armed forces will not attack or invade the territory or possessions of the following independent nations," and naming 31 countries in Europe and Africa.

It was a surprising move. There had been

ON SLENDER THREADS  
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

no indication that the President was considering it. But it met with instant approval on nearly every hand—Democrats and Republicans alike applauded the President's attempt to insure peace, even though many were skeptical concerning its results.

The message which was sent to Hitler and Mussolini began:

You realize, I am sure, that throughout the world hundreds of millions of human beings are living today in constant fear of a new war or even a series of wars. The existence of this fear—and the possibility of such a conflict—is of definite concern to the people of the United States for whom I speak, as it must also be to the people of the other nations of the entire Western Hemisphere. All of them know that any major war, even if it were to be confined to other continents, must bear heavily on them during its continuance and also for generations to come.

Because of the fact that after the acute tension in which the world has been living during the past few weeks, there would seem to be at least a momentary relaxation—because no troops are at this moment on the march—this may be an opportune moment for me to send you this message. On a previous occasion I have addressed you in behalf of the settlement of political, economic, and social problems by peaceful methods and without resort to arms. But the tide of events seems to have reverted to the threat of arms. If such threats continue, it seems inevitable that much of the world must become involved in common ruin. All the world, victor nations, vanquished nations, and neutral nations, will suffer. I refuse to believe that the world is, of necessity, such a prisoner of destiny. On the contrary, it is clear that the leaders of great

nations have it in their power to liberate their peoples from the disaster that impends. It is equally clear that in their own minds and in their own hearts the peoples themselves desire that their fears be ended.

After reviewing recent events in Europe, Africa, and Asia briefly, the President reminded Hitler and Mussolini that they have repeatedly asserted that they have no desire for war. He went on to say that "international problems can be solved at the council table," but emphasized the fact that "it is necessary that both sides enter upon the discussion in good faith." Then he asked them, point-blank, to give assurance against armed attack for at least 10 years, and perhaps a quarter of a century. Such assurances, he said, will "bring to the world an immediate measure of relief."

If such assurances are given, he continued, he proposes that international discussion of two important problems be held. The problems are, first, "the most effective and immediate manner through which the peoples of the world can obtain progressive relief from the crushing burden of armament;" and, second, "the most practical manner of opening up the avenues of international trade, to the end that every nation of the earth may be enabled to buy and sell on equal terms in the world market."

The general reaction to the President's plea, in this country, was expressed in a Washington *News* editorial which stated:

Whatever comes of the gesture, we are glad it was made. The world cannot go on like this forever. There must be a turn soon, one way or another. War fear is handicapping all normal human activities, while two sinister figures block the road to peace and better times. Two men against two billions.

The President's bold move should at least clear the atmosphere. And that is something to be gained. Soon, now, we should be able to see which way the world is headed.

### The Labor Act

In the summer of 1935, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act—a bill to protect labor unions, and to force employers to bargain fairly with their workers over wages, hours, and conditions of work. Most employers have been bitterly critical of the Act. First they fought it in the courts, but that campaign was killed when the Supreme Court found the Act constitutional. Since then, such organizations of employers as the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers have been working to get the Act amended, to do away with some of the unfairnesses which they say now exist in it.

Lately, also, the American Federation of Labor has favored changing the Act. The AFL's rival, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, is opposed to any change, however. Because of the sharp differences of opinion over the Act, and the strength of the opposing forces, a bitter fight has been predicted when Congress gets down to considering amendments to the Act.

The first round in that fight opened a short time ago, when a Senate committee began public hearings on suggested amendments. The first witness was Senator Robert Wagner of New York, who sponsored the Act four years

# The Week at Home

## What the People of the World Are Doing

ago. He denied that it is unfair to employers, and opposed changing it. Then the National Labor Relations Board, which administers the Act, presented its testimony. Like Senator Wagner, the NLRB does not believe the Act should be changed materially, although it is willing to agree to a few minor amendments. The Act's foes have not struck their blows, however, and it is apparent that the NLRA will be a subject of debate for weeks to come.

Senator Byrnes of South Carolina. Two million bales of cotton and 100 million bushels of wheat have been mentioned as the amounts of surplus crops to be traded, but price agreements with the other parties in this international barter will have to be reached before it is known how much rubber and tin we will receive.

### Coal Shut-down

More than 320,000 coal miners in the Appalachian region have been idle since March 31, when an agreement between their union, the United Mine Workers of America, and the mining companies came to an end. While John L. Lewis, the union's president (and

### Safety Awards

New Jersey and Providence, Rhode Island, were named recently by the National Safety Council as the state and the city which made the most progress in improving traffic safety during 1938. New Jersey ranked first in the eastern section, while Oklahoma won in the southern division, Iowa in the midwestern, and Washington in the western. The winner in 1937 was Massachusetts.

Providence, the first-place winner among the cities, led the group which includes cities from 250,000 to 500,000 population. In the over-500,000 class, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Cleveland, Ohio, tied for first. Trenton, New Jersey; Saginaw, Michigan; Waukegan, Illinois, and Mason City, Iowa, ranked first in the classes under 250,000. Memphis, Tennessee, won the grand prize for cities in 1937.

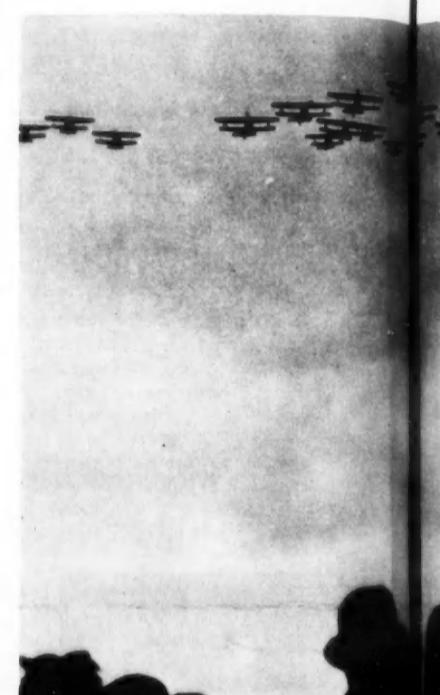
The judges based the awards on several points—improvement in construction of highways and streets, in enforcement of traffic laws, in educational campaigns for motorists and pedestrians, and so on.

### International Barter

A plan to get rid of some surplus cotton and wheat, and at the same time to collect reserve supplies of rubber and tin, is being studied in Washington, and may very likely be put into operation this summer. Although the plan is still rather vague, its outlines are as follows:

The United States, which has millions of bales of cotton and bushels of wheat which cannot be used here or sold abroad, will trade some of them for large stores of rubber and tin to be held for an emergency—such as war. The United States would benefit in two ways. It would reduce the huge surpluses which are threatening the market for cotton and wheat. And it would acquire reserves of rubber and tin—which it must import in large quantities—so that our industries could keep running for some time even if those imports were stopped. Foreign countries, especially England, the Netherlands, and Belgium, are producing more rubber and tin in their colonies than they can use or sell, but they need cotton and wheat, so the plan should appeal to them, too.

Government officials seem generally to approve of the plan, which was suggested by



AIR FLEETS MANEUVER PEACEFLY

also president of the CIO), conferred in New York with representatives of the companies' mines in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama were closed down.

It was thought that a new agreement could be reached in a few days. But the conference has dragged on week after week. The union and the companies have settled on most points—both approve a 35-hour week, at a daily wage from \$5.60 to \$6. The argument is over a point which seems insignificant to outsiders, but which is vastly important to the union.

Mr. Lewis is asking the owners to strike out of the new contract a clause which permits them to penalize the union \$1 a day for each miner who goes on strike. That clause, he says, is unfair to the union. But the owners insist on keeping it in the contract, and hence the deadlock.

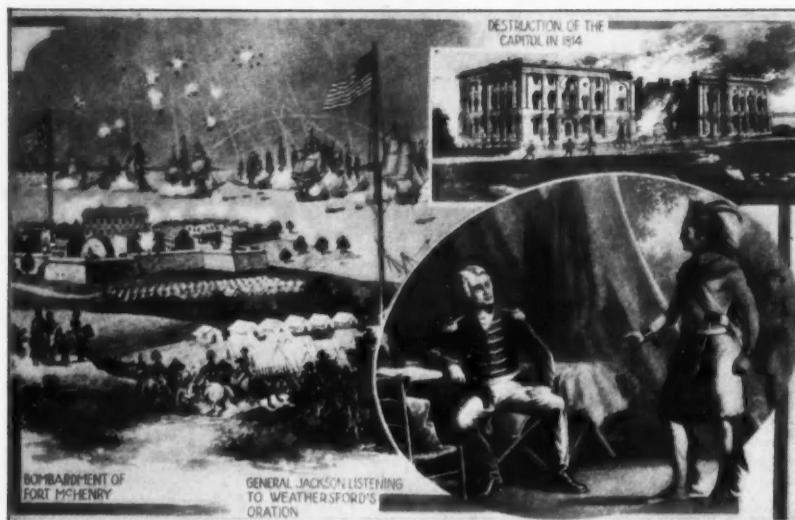
Meanwhile, a number of eastern cities—particularly New York—are threatened with a shortage of coal. Mayor LaGuardia met with the committee, but was unable to bring about an agreement. Early last week he appealed to the President to take action. It is not known what the President will do, but it is thought that he will act soon. There were only 30 million tons of coal mined when the mines shut down, and the nation uses about eight million tons a week. Furthermore, Mr. Lewis threatens to call a strike among miners in other regions—in Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, for instance—unless the companies give in.

### Folk Festival

This week the sixth annual Folk Festival is being held in Washington, and representatives from 30 states are coming to the nation's capital to take part in it. During the Festival, singers, dancers, "fiddlers," and performers

COLONEL LINDBERGH ARRIVES  
ACME  
Well guarded, the famous flyer recently came over for another visit to the United States. It was expected that he would testify before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which is considering proposals to revise the neutrality act.





THE UNITED STATES DURING THE WAR OF 1812

This composite illustration shows the burning of the Capitol in 1814, the bombardment of Fort McHenry, and General Jackson listening to Weatherford's oration. (From "America Marches Past," by George W. Bontz. Appleton-Century.)

## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### Reform Movements and War

As the world moves ever closer to the brink of war and as the chances of America's becoming involved increase, the student of history naturally turns his attention to the wars of the past in which the United States has been a participant. It is, of course, true that history never repeats itself in exactly the same way, but frequently similar conditions lead to similar results in both domestic and international developments. Is there anything in the present situation confronting this

country which may be compared with the historical past as influencing the issue of war and peace?

More than four years ago, Charles A. Beard, one of the most thorough and astute students of American history, expressed the view that the failure of the New Deal to effect truly fundamental economic and social reforms might cause the administration to turn its attention to the foreign field and become involved in war.

### Intervention of War

Dr. Beard pointed out that every genuine reform movement in American politics has been cut short by war. The first sweeping economic revolution took place with the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800, when there was a nation-wide surging of the masses against the Federalists, the party of wealth and business privileges. The War of 1812 was widely supported by the business interests of the country, except the shipping concerns of New England which stood to lose as a result of the war's interference with their trade.

The conclusion of the War of 1812 greatly strengthened the power of the business interests of the country and the reforms inaugurated by Jefferson and his successors were discontinued. The war had greatly stimulated new industries, the wealthy had contributed to finance the war, and after the conflict they were once more in the political saddle as they had been before the Jeffersonian revolution.

The next upsurging of the masses against wealth and privilege, against the domination of the national life by business and industry, came with the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828. Jackson and his followers undertook to dethrone the vested economic interests and inaugurate policies which would benefit the average citizen, the small farmer, and worker. But the assault on business enterprise was not to have lasting effects, for business itself was becoming ever more powerful, building new factories,



DAVID S. MUZZEY

and spreading its influence throughout the nation. Jackson's party itself was taken over by the landowners of the South and the economic and political tensions became so acute that civil war resulted. The outcome was the same as before. The work of the reform administrations was undone and business emerged triumphant.

Between the election of Jackson and that of Franklin D. Roosevelt there were other movements of reform, some of them achieving political victory, others falling short of the objective. There was the populist movement of the eighties and nineties which fell behind William Jennings Bryan in 1896. There were the reform advocates of the prewar days, such as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. But there was not a clear-cut cleavage between the masses and the great economic powers of the nation until the election of 1932, when a great popular upheaval placed the present Roosevelt in office.

### Not Encouraging

And yet, even those minor reform movements were interrupted by foreign wars, which called for concentration upon international developments rather than upon domestic problems. The Spanish-American War came at a time when domestic conflicts were serious. The World War called a halt to the reform program which Woodrow Wilson started.

It is a well-known fact that despite the reforms of the present administration, the economic crisis in this country has not been solved. The economic machine has not been made to work smoothly. Under these circumstances, will the nation once more be plunged into war? No one, of course, knows the answer, but the lesson of history in this respect is not encouraging. As Dr. Beard summarizes his views in the February 1935 issue of *Scribner's*:

At once the cry will go up that "nations do not deliberately make war." Nations as such never do anything. Statesmen in power make decisions for nations. Seldom, if ever, do statesmen deliberately "make" war, but they often prefer "strong" foreign policies to "strong" domestic policies. It is well known, except to innocence, that it is a favorite device of statesmen to attempt the adjustment of domestic dissensions by resort to diplomatic fulminations, war scares, and war itself. The Department of State under Cleveland and Olney was well aware that the threat against Great Britain over the Venezuela episode was calculated to reduce the inflammation of "the anarchistic, socialistic, and populistic boil." The Spanish War was in many quarters regarded as a welcome relief from the domestic conflict—an effective damper on the populistic movement. This is not saying that President Roosevelt will deliberately plunge the country into war in his efforts to escape the economic crisis. . . . Judging by the past history of American politicians, . . . amid powerful conflicting emotions, he will "stumble into" war.

## China Changes As War Continues

(Concluded from page 3)

across China's plains and mountains, they are diminished as thousands fall by the roadside, victims of disease, exhaustion, exposure, or of the marauding bandit gangs to which the refugee columns are easy prey.

The goal of these people is the new China which is forming itself with great difficulty in the western provinces. There, at least, is hope. And there, under the pressure of the slowly advancing Japanese, the Chinese people have achieved a unity that has been long wanting.

### The New China

The problems in the sections of China under the control of the Chinese government are very difficult. It has been terribly hard to find places for the millions of refugees to go, and ways for them to earn their living. Physical suffering has been intense as the last winter has made its inroads upon lives of the people, and as adequate food supplies, medical facilities, doctors, and nurses have been wanting. The land of the western provinces is dry, its grass is thin, and its trees are few and scrubby. Communication with the outside world is difficult, and now possible only through a long and tortuous overland caravan route to Siberia, over the newly constructed but unsatisfactory road to Burma, and over a short railway line to French Indo-China.

Yet, in spite of these difficulties added to the enormous military effort needed merely to hold the Japanese troops where they are, the government of the Chinese republic, under Chiang Kai-shek, is making progress. With a patience born of centuries of suffering, and with a determination to make the best of what is at hand, the Chinese people in the west are building highways, digging irrigation canals and ditches, and reclaiming marginal lands.

The Chinese government hopes to be able eventually to drive the Japanese from China, and to this end it has diverted nearly a third of its best troops to guerrilla operations behind the Japanese lines. But the effect of guerrilla operations has so far been disappointing. Thus a second plan is in operation. Failing to drive out the Japanese—perhaps for many years—the Chinese are striving to build up a new republic in the west. At great cost and effort, heavy pieces of machinery have been towed along over the poor roads and set up in the west. Little industries are slowly getting started. Agricultural staffs are experimenting with crops and organizing farm cooperatives. Mining experts are preparing to dig underground for metals. Financial experts have done wonders with the hard-pressed Chinese currency. With the help of British and American loans, they have stabilized the Chinese dollar, and produced more order in their own areas than the Japanese have in the northeast.

Under the new spirit of unity and cooperation, 170 large cooperative societies are already actively functioning in the unoccupied areas. Even more striking, perhaps, is the fact that 32 Chinese universities have also moved west, one of them toiling over 1,500 miles of roads, faculty and students together. Scholars, writers, scientists, and artists have moved along side by side with the industries and farmers. Peasants, businessmen, merchants, and communists are working and fighting side by side in western China. Their resources are not large, but their will and spirit are infinite, and many observers now believe that the "new order" in China, if it comes, will not arrive from Japan via Shanghai and Peking but will spread its influence from Chungking, or whatever capital the Chinese government occupies.

## Locate Yourself!

Types of Students and Analysis of Prospects

### Type 24

It is unfortunate that many young people with no interest or aptitude for the regular courses in school waste a number of years beyond the high school struggling for an education which will not help them at all. They may be gifted in other lines and should begin a training which will help them secure employment in some field for which they are suited. This is especially true of young men who are mechanically minded.

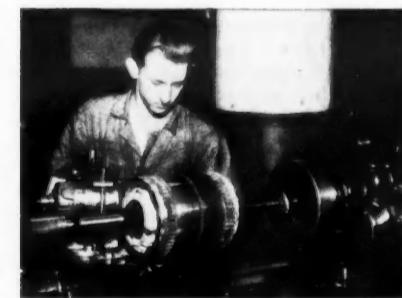
The best course for such people to follow is to decide, as early as possible, upon a career and start making preparations for it. In most cases, two courses are open to them. They may either enter a trade school which will give them practical training for the career of their choice or they may enter through the apprenticeship door. The opportunities for skilled workers are very good in a number of trades and they are likely to remain good for a number of years. There is a shortage of competent skilled labor in a number of industries.

One possibility for a person with mechanical inclinations is machine work. This is a highly skilled trade and a considerable amount of training is required. The work of the machinist is varied. In fact, machinists are divided into three general classifications. There are the machinists who cut, grind, and polish metal in its crude form so that the parts will fit with precision. Most machinists are engaged in this work of making the parts of machinery. The second group is composed of the millwrights whose work consists of assembling the various parts into the completed machine. The third group consists of the toolmakers who make the tools with which the other machinists work. This is the most difficult type of work and requires the greatest skill.

Employment opportunities for machinists were better, even during the depression,

than for most other workers, and during the last few years, there has been practically no unemployment among them; in some lines, there has been an actual shortage of machinists. For well-trained and skilled machinists, the wages are relatively high. A fairly accurate measuring rod of wages is the rates which prevail in Chicago for union men. For a 40-hour week, the wage rate ranges from \$44 to \$52, depending upon the type of work performed. Of course, for semi-skilled machinists, the wages are considerably lower and the unemployment opportunities less favorable.

Those who become apprentices have the advantage of earning wages while they are learning the trade. A period of four years is generally required of the apprentice.



MISSOURI SCHOOLS

THE MACHINIST

He begins with 41 cents an hour and his wages gradually increase until it is double that amount during the last six months of the apprenticeship. Apprentices must be 16 years of age or over when they begin. Full details on the rules and regulations governing apprenticeship may be obtained from the International Association of Machinists, Ninth Street and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

## Personalities in the News

ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT, the second of the President's four sons, is president and co-owner, with his wife, of a radio network in Texas which includes 23 stations. While building up this chain of stations, during the last two and one-half years, he



ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT

has also been president of Hearst Radio, Inc., another string of stations owned by the well-known publisher, William Randolph Hearst.

Twice a week, Elliott Roosevelt has been broadcasting a news commentary over a large number of Texas stations. A few weeks ago, papers all over the country picked up several of his remarks and turned them into a front-page story. They were considered to be worth such a prominent place because the President's son was seemingly siding with Vice-President Garner and his followers, who differ sharply with President Roosevelt on matters of governmental policy. The vice-president, he said, was "in the driver's seat" of the Democratic party.

Later, in another broadcast, the President's son spoke in rather uncomplimentary terms of the New Deal's attitude toward the South, and its efforts to help that section of the country. Once more, newspapers gave his statement nation-wide publicity. Anti-Roosevelt editors, especially, headlined Elliott's remarks.

But a few days ago, the President's son made his stand clear. He meant no disloyalty to the Roosevelt administration, he said. "If I question an administration program or policy," he continued, "I do so in the spirit that what information I have gleaned in the South may be helpful to the administration—and not in the spirit of hatred, distrust, or of questioning the sincerity of anyone." His remarks concerning the vice-president, he said, were only those of a reporter—they did not necessarily represent his views on what should be the future of the Democratic party.

Elliott Roosevelt worked for an advertising agency before settling down in Texas. He has resigned as president of the Hearst chain, and from now on will devote all his time to his own network, which is the largest regional chain of stations in the country.

A NEW name has been added to the list (already a long one) of men to be considered when the Democrats meet in the summer of 1940 to choose their candidates for President and vice-president in the fall elections. It is that of Governor Lloyd C. Stark of Missouri, who stepped into the spotlight as a result of the drive against the Pendergast machine, which for many years has controlled Kansas City and has exercised a great influence over state politics as well.

Oddly enough, Governor Stark was elected to office in 1936 with the backing of Thomas J. Pendergast, the machine's boss. But Governor Stark has refused on several occasions to work with Mr. Pendergast. Last year they backed different candidates for a position on the state's Supreme

Court, and the governor's man won by a large margin. That encouraged Governor Stark to go ahead with his efforts to break the power of the Pendergast organization.

Governor Stark is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, and he served as an officer in the navy during the World War. He resigned from the navy to take over a nursery business at Louisiana, Missouri, when his father died. The Stark orchards are famous throughout the nation; his father developed the Stark Delicious apple, which is a favorite with apple growers.

His job as head of a nursery brought Governor Stark in contact with the Missouri farmers, and he came to know many of them personally. He had a wide acquaintance among Missouri businessmen, too, and he was urged to run for the governorship in 1932. At that time, however, Pendergast refused to support him, but by 1936 Governor Stark could not be ignored. He won the election easily.

He has supported President Roosevelt and the New Deal on nearly every point, but he is also acceptable to the more conservative element in the Democratic party. That fact, coupled with the favorable publicity which he is getting at present, may lead to his being placed on the Democratic ticket next summer.



LLOYD C. STARK

BECAUSE so many of England's most promising young men died in the World War, many of the dominant figures in the British government today are old men—figures thought to be in their prime when they directed the course of empire 20 years ago. One of the most picturesque (if not most important) of these is David Lloyd George, a fiery old Welshman now distinguished by his long white hair, his sharp and ready tongue, and by an unbroken period of parliamentary service extending over nearly half a century.

David Lloyd George was born in Manchester in 1863, and brought up in one of the poorer districts of Wales, in the family of a shoemaker. Although not really very poor himself, he had ample opportunity to observe the effects of degrading poverty on others. In 1890 Lloyd George first entered Parliament, and from that time down to the present he has been returned again and again by the same constituency, in spite of the fact that his course has been erratic and unconventional. Never strictly a man of the people, nor a defender of the landowners and employers, Lloyd George chose a perilous course between. Many of his political moves, such as opposition to the war against the South African Boers, brought him so counter to public feeling that his life was threatened several times, and upon one occasion he was actually stoned by an angry mob in Manchester.

It was during the World War period that Lloyd George figured most prominently. It was then that he dropped his position as



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

chancellor of the exchequer to become minister of munitions and secretary of state for war, and then from 1916 to 1922, as prime minister and first lord of the treasury. In those years his associates found his energy and determination to be almost amazing.

Since 1922 David Lloyd George has been much less active. His party, the Conservative, has not called upon him for further service, outside of Parliament, and several times it was said that he was about to retire. But within recent months he has flared up anew against the dictators, and at all efforts at appeasing them, in parliamentary speeches of such fire and intensity as to recall the title formerly given him—"the political volcano."

ALTHOUGH Greece has recently been granted a guarantee of protection by the democracies, that country is not a democracy by any means. Its military dictator, General John Metaxas, is as much the strong man of that country as Mussolini is of Italy, and entirely aside from considerations as to whether he is in or out of the democratic war front, he must be reckoned with as one of Europe's dictators.

Born on the Greek island of Ithaca, in 1871, Metaxas received a military education. Most of it, significantly enough, he obtained in Berlin where he developed great admiration for the Prussian sense of organization and discipline. Joining the officers' corps of the Greek army in 1890, he advanced to the point where, during the Balkan wars of 1912-13, he helped to direct operations from a comfortable chair on the general staff.

As his military position in Greece grew stronger, Metaxas began more and more to show open favor to conservatism as opposed to liberalism, and to the monarchists as opposed to the republicans. His severely conservative views brought him into difficulties more than once in the days of the Greek Republic, which was established in 1924. At one time, he was condemned to death, and upon a number of occasions he was exiled, but he always managed to worm himself out of these dangerous situations.

In the middle of the 1930's, Metaxas took advantage of a swing of the political pendulum in Greece toward conservatism. In 1934 he founded a fascist-monarchist party. The following year King George returned to the throne, and the republic was ended. By 1936 Metaxas had gained enough power to overthrow parliamentary rule, one hot summer night, and to declare shortly afterward: "Parliamentary democracy is ended in Greece forever."

Although he had Hitler's contempt for democracy, Metaxas did not have any set plan as had the Nazis when power came into his hands, and thus he has had to feel his way uncertainly toward a vaguely defined Greek unity.

At the age of 68, Metaxas is the oldest of Europe's absolute dictators. A heavily



JOHN METAXAS

built, rather puffy man with a broad face half-hidden under thick-rimmed spectacles, he is not a good orator, and does not seem to enjoy any very great popularity with the Greek people.

## Something to Think About

### Are You Sure of Your Facts?

1. Which of the following men are named as possible Democratic presidential candidates for 1940 and which as possible Republican nominees? 1. Garner. 2. Taft. 3. Dewey. 4. Stark. 5. Farley. 6. Vandenberg. 7. LaGuardia.
2. True or False: According to polls of the Institute of Public Opinion, a majority of the voters are in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt.
3. At the present time, who is the leading Republican candidate?
4. What is meant by the two governments of China, and which sections of the country are controlled by each?
5. How has the Japanese occupation of certain areas of China affected the life of the people in those regions? the rest of China?
6. What were the specific proposals made to Hitler and Mussolini in the Roosevelt peace message?
7. What was the reaction to this plea throughout the world?
8. What recent development has made Governor Stark figure in the 1940 presidential calculations?
9. Who is John Metaxas?
10. What type of magazine is "The Saturday Review of Literature"?
11. Which city and which state received the safety awards of the National Safety Council?

**Can You Defend Your Opinions?**

1. Do you think the Democrats would have a better chance of victory in 1940 by nominating a conservative candidate or a supporter of the New Deal? Which type of candidate do you think would be

more likely to insure Republican victory?

2. Do you think President Roosevelt should run for a third term? Give definite reasons for your answer.

3. What do you think will be the effect of the westward migration of Chinese to the interior of the country upon future Chinese civilization?

4. In your opinion, did President Roosevelt promote the cause of peace or did he make war more likely by sending his peace message to Hitler and Mussolini?

5. Are you in favor of amending the National Labor Relations Act? Why?

**REFERENCES ON POLITICS:** (a) How Long Should a U. S. President Serve? Pro and Con Discussion. *Congressional Digest*, May 1938, pp. 133-160. (b) Return of the Two-Party System, by Raymond Clapper. *Current History*, December 1938, pp. 13-15. (c) New Deal, New Life, by K. Hutchison. *The Nation*, February 18, 1939, pp. 195-197. (d) We Vote as We Please, by Frank L. Palmer. *Current History*, January 1939, pp. 35-37. (e) No Third Term for Roosevelt, by Frank R. Kent. *American Mercury*, January 1938, pp. 1-9.

**REFERENCES ON CHINA:** (a) Free China Gets to Work, by Pearl S. Buck. *Asia*, April 1939, pp. 199-202. (b) China's Colleges in Retreat, by O. J. Caldwell. *Events*, February 1939, pp. 146-150. (c) Outlook for Foreign Investment in China, by N. D. Hanwell. *Asia*, January 1939, pp. 9-12. (d) China's Unbroken Spirit, by G. N. Steiger. *Events*, March 1939, pp. 227-231. (e) Rising Sun, by O. Lattimore. *The Atlantic*, July 1938, pp. 22-26.

**PRONUNCIATIONS:** Nanchang (nahn' chahng'), Chiang Kai-shek (jee-ong' ki' shek' -i as in ice), Yangtze (yang'tsee'), Chungking (choong'king'), Metaxas (meh-tak'sas).



"FLOWERS THAT BLOOM IN THE SPRING, TRA, LA!"  
MESSNER IN ROCHESTER (N.Y.) TIMES-UNION



NOW THERE'S TWO OF 'EM  
RUSSELL IN LOS ANGELES TIMES



RIVAL ROMEOES  
MORRIS IN OSWEGO (N.Y.) PALLADIUM TIMES



TRAINING FOR THE BIG BOUT  
EVANS IN COLUMBUS (OHIO) DISPATCH

## 1940 Political Prospects

(Concluded from page 1)

critical, the President might run for another term.

If President Roosevelt does not run again, who is the most probable Democratic candidate? In February the Institute of Public Opinion asked a large number of Democratic voters whether, in case President Roosevelt did not run, they would prefer a conservative Democrat or a New Dealer. Forty-one per cent said they would prefer a conservative, and 59 per cent said they would rather have a New Dealer. This indicates that, up to a few weeks ago, about three-fifths of all Democrats preferred a follower of the President to a candidate from the conservative branch of the party.

### Conservative or Liberal

Even though a majority of Democrats may prefer a New Deal candidate, however, they are not in agreement as to the man who should be named. No New Dealer stands out strongly throughout the nation. On the other hand, a conservative Democrat, Vice-President John N. Garner, seems at the present time to be the outstanding Democratic possibility. An Institute of Public Opinion poll in March showed 42 per cent of the Democrats who were questioned, supporting the vice-president. Ten per cent were for Postmaster General James A. Farley and 10 per cent for Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Eight per cent supported Secretary of Commerce Harry L. Hopkins, and the other votes were scattered. The explanation of this vote is that conservative Democrats, who dislike the New Deal or a great part of it, and who want the Democratic party to be more as it was in the days of Al Smith than as it is today, seem to be uniting on the vice-president, while the New Dealers have not yet concentrated on any one candidate.

There is some question whether Vice-President Garner will be as strong a year from now as he is today. It is somewhat dangerous for a candidate to get out in front too early. He becomes then a target for attacks, and it is very hard for him to maintain his strength in the face of these attacks. In many cases such a candidate becomes weaker after he has borne the brunt of opposition for a long time and his supporters turn to a new candidate who has not long been actively considered and who has not aroused so much opposition.

If the conservatives should control the next Democratic convention and if Vice-President Garner should not be strong enough to win the nomination, it is possible that a majority of the delegates might turn to Senator Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, whose views are similar to those of the vice-president but who is a much younger man. Age is a handicap to Vice-President Garner, for he is about 70 years old. Friends of Postmaster General James A. Farley are active, and he is a possibility. He has supported most of the New Deal but has not gone the whole way. His economic views are probably about half-

way between those of the President, on the one side, and the conservative Democrats such as Vice-President Garner, Senators Carter Glass and Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, and Senator George of Georgia, on the other.

### New Dealers

If the New Dealers control the Democratic convention, it is hard to tell whom they will nominate. Secretary of Commerce Harry Hopkins has been discussed more than anyone else in this connection. But there is much criticism of the way he handled the relief work when he had charge of it and there is quite a little evidence that he is not so popular as other New Dealers might be. In the recent poll conducted by THE AMERICAN OBSERVER and the *Weekly News Review*, students were asked whom they would support if Thomas Dewey were running for president on the Republican ticket and a New Dealer such as Harry Hopkins were running on the Democratic. The vote was over two to one for Dewey. These same students indicated, however, that if Dewey were running against Garner their votes would be quite evenly divided, Dewey getting 53 per cent and Garner 47. This result is almost exactly the same as that of the Institute of Public Opinion poll, which showed that if Dewey were running against Garner, 52 per cent would support Dewey and 48 per cent Garner.

It is possible, of course, that the Democrats may turn to a candidate who is not now much discussed. A possibility is Governor Lloyd C. Stark of Missouri. He has come into prominence lately because of his successful fight against Tom Pendergast, who for years has been the leader of the Democratic party in Kansas City and the boss of that city. Though Pendergast has been one of the most notorious of the

city bosses of the nation, he has had such a grip upon his city that his candidates for office have practically always been elected. Some time ago, however, Governor Stark started a war on him and won a state election. After that he worked with the officers of the United States government, who went into Kansas City and started a clean-up campaign. There has been a fight upon gambling, upon a dope ring, upon vice of every form. Finally the federal authorities have indicted Boss Pendergast for evasion of income tax and he is to be vigorously prosecuted. It seems now that his machine has been smashed, and Governor Stark has gained a reputation as a clean politician with unlimited courage. He is not associated with fights which have made enemies for other national leaders of the Democratic party, but he is regarded as a supporter of the New Deal.

### Dewey Leads Republicans

On the Republican side, Thomas E. Dewey, 36-year-old district attorney of New York City, is far out in front. In March, the Institute of Public Opinion, asked Republican voters whom they would prefer as their candidate for president in 1940. Exactly half of them declared for Dewey, 15 per cent were for Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, 13 per cent were for Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, while the rest were scattered. Last December, THE AMERICAN OBSERVER and the *Weekly News Review* poll gave Dewey more votes than all other Republicans together. He has made a reputation as a champion of clean government. He has not expressed definite views on many of the economic problems before the nation. Perhaps he will do that later. Meanwhile, many people who are supporting him think that it is tremendously important to deal a blow to corrupt government. They think that Dewey is the man for the job. They know that the federal government, if it goes at the work with determination, can go a long way toward smashing corrupt city ma-

chines, as it has done recently in Kansas City. They say that if we had clean, efficient government, the people of the nation would be in a better position to make independent decisions concerning the big economic issues.

While Dewey has not declared himself definitely on the larger issues of the day he is regarded as a moderate. He is a young man and is apparently not tied down to any political or economic program. He has never attacked the New Deal unreservedly and with bitterness, which indicates that he is not an extreme conservative. At the same time, it is believed that he is not an extreme liberal of the LaGuardia type.

Though popular opinion in the Republican party appears to favor Dewey very strongly, many political observers think that the convention will name a man who has had more political experience and who is in greater favor with the old-line leaders of the party. Some time ago the magazine *Newsweek* asked 50 Washington correspondents of the leading newspapers of the nation whom they considered the most probable Republican nominee. Twenty-three of these correspondents, probably among the best-informed political observers in the country, said that Dewey would be most likely of nomination, 21 considered Senator Taft the most probable nominee, three named Governor John W. Bricker of Ohio, two selected Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, while one expressed no opinion.

### Conservative Republicans

It is the opinion of shrewd observers, therefore, that Dewey and Taft at the present time stand far out in the lead. Senator Taft is more conservative than Dewey, though he is not an extremist. In fact, he is a moderate man in statement and is thoughtful in his political addresses. He speaks with respect of the purposes of the New Deal but he opposes practically the whole New Deal program. His own program appears much like that of former President Herbert Hoover. He realizes that the unemployment problem must be solved and that until it is solved there must be a great deal of relief. He thinks, however, that the relief should be administered by the states rather than the nation, and his remedy for unemployment is for the government to balance the budget, cooperate more closely with business, quit competing with business, and avoid increases of taxes. Such a program would be popular with the conservative or "old line" Republicans.

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan has been regarded as a possibility for a number of years, and his name must still be considered. He is an able man and a vigorous campaigner. He is probably more conservative than Dewey and more liberal than Taft. At the present time he is leading a movement for the consideration of profit-sharing as a means of stabilizing business and of increasing the purchasing power of the masses. He may be nominated unless the Republicans next year are in a mood to take a newer man; one who has not been so long in the public eye and who may appeal more to the imaginations of voters.

## Smiles

A woman must have plenty of pluck to keep her eyebrows in shape.  
—Los Angeles Times



"OH, DEAR. TAKE ME BACK! I FORGOT MY MAUVE NAIL POLISH!"  
KEATE IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

"Pop, will I look like you when I grow up?"  
"Everybody seems to think so, Son."  
"Well, I won't grow up for a long time yet, will I, Pop?"  
—CAPPER'S WEEKLY

The traveling salesman, finding a train on a certain railroad on time, was so agreeably surprised that he offered the conductor a cigar.

"Keep your cigar," the conductor retorted, "this is yesterday's train." —CLIPPED

"Our friend Dodge tells me that he is doing settlement work lately."  
"Yes, his creditors finally cornered him."  
—WALL STREET JOURNAL

"Hurry—you know we are dining with the MacTavishes this evening."  
"All right, let's eat dinner and be on our way."  
—WALL STREET JOURNAL

A tourist speeding along a highway at 100 miles an hour was stopped by a patrolman. "Was I driving too fast?" asked the tourist, apologetically.  
"No," replied the patrolman, "you were flying too low."  
—CLIPPED